LIVE AND LET LIVE:

A TREATISE

ON THE

HOSTILE RIVALSHIPS

BETWEEN THE

MANUFACTURER

AND

LAND-WORKER

WITH A

MORE ESPECIAL VIEW

TO THE

PRESENT CONTEST

BETWEEN THE

WOOLLEN MANUFACTURERS

AND

WOOL-GROWERS.

BODLEIANA BIBLIOTHECA

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PREFACE.

IT is not uſual with the Author to withhold his name from any thing that he thinks proper to publiſh; nor does he now, from any doubt of avowing the principles which he holds, the doctrines which he lays down, or the uſes he makes of them: but not treating this ſubject as a queſtion of party, nor engaging in the diſcuſſion of it as a partizan, he wiſhes to withhold himſelf from being inſerted perſonally in it.

He has been eſteemed a decided friend of the Woollen Manufacturers: this he could manifeſt by addreſſes and letters of thanks ſent to him from the woollen manufacturing countries in almoſt every part of England,

which he never publiſhed in newſpapers, as he is no candidate for that ſort of fame. He is invariably, as far as he is now capable, a friend to theſe manufactories. He had opportunities when in France of examining the nature of their woollen manufactories, and of the wool with which they are fabricated, eſpecially in thoſe branches in which they have rivalled us. He procured ſamples of the wool and patterns of the cloths. He hath communicated theſe, (for that was the purpoſe for which he procured them,) to ſome of the manufacturers in the North, and he had the pleaſure to hear them ſay, that they had no doubt but that they could beat theſe French fabriques in their own way. He mentions not theſe things as vaunting, but as laying in his precaution, that, while he is decidedly in opinion againſt the monopoly, and againſt the meaſures of the monopoliſts, he may not

not be conſidered as hoſtile to the woollen manufactures in general.

On the other hand, while he writes on the part of the country gentlemen againſt the monopoly, he neither courts nor expects to be approved by them; differing ſo much, as he does, from the conduct they have always obſerved in conducting their intereſt in this buſineſs, he rather feels that he ſhall diſoblige them; he hopes however, whatever the landlords may think, the farmers and graziers will be ſenſible how zealouſly he is their friend.

He will hope that if the manufacturers in general ſhall ſee and adopt the diſtinction between the monopoliſts and the induſtrious manufacturer and fair merchant, that they will find him in every part of his reaſoning a zealous advocate and friend of their intereſt. Finally,

Finally, he hopes that he has not ſaid, towards any claſs, any thing offenſive, which can be felt as uncivil or diſobliging.

April 12, 1787.

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Live and Let Live.

THE nature of the civil community may, as to the proceſs of its life, be conſidered in the ſtricteſt analogy, ſimilar to the vegetative ſyſtem. As the capillary fibres of the roots of plants ſtretch themſelves out almoſt imperceptibly to thoſe parts whence they can draw the nutritive matter, which is to become at length component parts of its body; as Nature keeps theſe within the earth, that in their firſt operations, they may work in peace and ſecurity; ſo the motives which draw forth the firſt efforts of labour from the earth; ſo the uſes which lead the produce of that labour into circulation, are

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matter of particular experience, better conducted by feeling than reaſoning, and ſhould be left to themſelves on their own ground. If ſo left to themſelves, and undiſturbed in their operations, they will, like the out-ſtretchings of the roots of the plant, operate in ſuch parts, on ſuch objects, and in ſuch manner, as natural cauſes call them forth; they will feel the occaſions as they ariſe, and will conduct the produce of their activity into ſuch channels of circulation, as the uſes and demand call for: they will, like the fibres of the roots, abſorb and ſecrete from the earth a product which they will form into the nouriſhment and life-blood of the body. We may form ſyſtems of philoſophy; we may aſſume ſyſtems of politicks to explain theſe matters, as objects of ſpeculation; but ſuch a comprehenſive practical knowledge of theſe primary and hidden movements, as can pretend to direct them, is not within the reach of natural ſcience, is not within the ſcope of political knowledge. If any empirick botaniſt was to preſume that he could arrange and direct the outſtretching of the firſt roots of a plant, better than Nature herſelf uſually performs this operation,

operation, he would ſoon ruin if not deſtroy his plant. If any preſumptuous viſionary ſtateſman ſhould imagine that on imaginary maxims and ſyſtems of regulations, he could not only teach but ordain by laws, how the firſt products ſhould be raiſed, and could form artificial channels into which their uſes ſhould be led: he would find that his regulations and laws would ſoon cramp and palſy the induſtry of the labourer, would render barren the productive power of the Land-worker, would croſs upon and intercept the markets, would arreſt the current of circulation, and counter-act all that health, wealth, and ſtrength, which the community, in the free and natural proceſs of its operations, would have wrought the ſtate up to.

Common ſenſe, unſophiſticated by predetermined ſyſtems, or unbiaſſed by the ſeductions of avarice or power, would have taught at firſt, what long experience, tutored by endleſs viciſſitudes of evils, hath at length taught all wiſe governments to feel: That the labour of the Land-worker, the induſtry of the firſt operations of manufactures—that the forenſic circu-

lation, and the adventures of commerce, are moſt productive when left to themſelves; and that the ſtateſman then, and then only interferes wiſely, when from experience he knows how to keep the balance even, how to preſerve the general level of circulation, how to ſecrete ſtate revenue from national wealth, without checking the productive power, without impoveriſhing the nutritive juices, and without ſtarving the fruit-bearing branches which produce this ſupply.

If ſuch a ſtateſman wiſhes, by regulations founded in the nature of the civil body, to form an organized union between the wealth of commerce, the health and proſperity of the community, and the ſtrength of the ſtate, experience alone, and not ſpeculative maxims, can be his guide, following and not directing, as the natural operations of that body move and act: here he will not be deceived, if he recurs to the analogy above ſuggeſted: if he conſiders the community as a plant, he will know that he muſt not meddle with the roots. The ſeveral branches in the training of the plant are the

the proper objects of his experimental administration: he may aid and assist the bearing-branches, if their due nourishment is drained off and prevented by the barren luxuriancy of the unproductive parts of the plant. As in the process of the life of the plant, so in that of the civil body—there may be operations and labor which are in vain: there may be a busy industry, which does more harm than good: there may be some branches of commerce, which, while they accumulate great coagulations of property to individuals or companies, may however become a disease in the general circulation of labor and profit, may become ruinous to the community, and even dangerous to the state. An experienced and truly commercial minister will know how to recover the right healthful circulation into a general nutrition of the whole. There are other branches of commerce which may drain and impoverish the roots; the *labourer and producer* may flourish and grow rich by an unequal share of the general profit, while the labourer, not having such a share as will support him, and the Land-worker, deprived of his own proper share,

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ſhall continue under a conſtant ſtate of deprivation and oppreſſion: but as this falſe luxuriancy is ruinous to the fruit-bearing plant, ſo it is miſchievous to the commercial community. The truly wiſe ſtateſman here again will know how in ſuch caſes to prune off this aberration and falſe growth, and to recover the circulation to an equal diſtribution of nutrition, which ſhall give health to the community, and ſtrength and ſyſtematick wealth to the ſtate. On ſuch and ſuch occaſions only ſhould the ſtateſman interfere in the circulations of labor and profit, in the adventures of commerce. It is beſt that his power ſhould never be ſeen or felt but in remedial aid to protect what is oppreſſed—and to reſtore the natural level and circulation where ſome unnatural violence hath obſtructed or perverted its courſe. It is his care to watch that all claſſes of the community have equal favors, equal protection, equal ſhare, in proportion to their productive powers, of the general profit, equal liberty, and reciprocal juſtice. It is his care to hold all in equal balance, at leaſt in that level neceſſary to hold up from depreſſion, and to maintain their productive powers:

That

That the labourer, he who works in the farm as well as he who works in the manufactory, hath ſuch wages, or ſuch profit on his work, as he can live by, according to the price of food, raiment, and lodging, with a little ſurplus againſt ſickneſs:

That the farmer, after being paid intereſt and inſurance for the ſtock which he advances and puts into his farm, after paying his taxes, his pariſh rates, and his rent, may have a due return for his annual ſtock and labour, a competent ſupport for himſelf and family, and finally a ſuperlucration, or ſurplus profit, which may enable him to go on not only and barely in a way to live, but in a way to thrive, by carrying that ſurplus into improvement:

That the Land-owner may receive ſuch a proportionate rent for the uſe of his land, (the valuable permanency of landed property conſidered, for which a higher price is due, over that of monied property) as may give him a ſuitable intereſt, in ſome proportion equal (all things conſidered) to what other property gives, and alſo

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ſome ſhare in the general profit of improvements, in a proportionate degree, as the advancing ſtate of theſe improvements advance the price of things which he muſt buy with his rent:

That the labouring, as well as the merchant manufacturer, have profits of their labour, in proportion to the ſtock which they employ in their reſpective branches:

That the grower, or raiſer of the materials of manufactures, is not in a condition, on one hand, to demand a price for his produce, at which the manufacturer cannot afford to work it, and live: and that the manufacturer, on the other hand, is not in a ſtate of power or intereſt with the Government, ſo as to be able to depreſs the grower, and command and ſet his own price on his produce.

As the community civilizes, and the arts of life refine, the body of the community is naturally divided into two general claſſes of employment and induſtry, into thoſe of the *Land-worker* and *Manufacturer:* although theſe draw their ſubſiſtence from raiſing, and working upon, the produce

produce of the earth; although, when conſidered as what they really are, they are congenial organs of one common proceſs of the life of the community, and ought to act as ſuch; yet, like *the harveſt of dragon's teeth*, they riſe armed againſt each other, act under a continued hoſtile rivalſhip, and with a never-ceaſing exertion to depreſs each other. Their right intereſt would be mutually to aid, as they mutually depend upon each other. Theſe claſſes, rightly underſtanding their own intereſt, and rightly underſtood, are co-efficient and reciprocal workers and maintainers of the ſource of each other's intereſt and proſperity: envy, jealouſy, and avarice, however, ſo work in them, that inſtead of operating by their own proper induſtry on the proper object of their own labour, ſo as to create an *abſolute*, their own proper, profit; envious and idle, they feel themſelves better ſerved with a *relative, though inferior profit*, ariſing from the privations they can create to their rivals. This ſyſtem of relative profit, ariſing from the reciprocal depreſſion of each claſs, is the oppreſſion of both, and abſolutely deſtructive and ruinous

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to the community at large. Let us therefore conſider this matter a little more in detail.

Manufacturers, traders, and merchants, are ſubſiſted, while they are employed on the materials which the Land-worker raiſes, by the food and victuals which he raiſes: and the *firſt ſource* of manufactures, both in principle and in time, is that *ſurplus profit* raiſed from agriculture in an accumulated ſtock, over and above what the courſe of improvement in land will re-abſorb, and is therefore advantageouſly turned into the channels of manufacture and commerce.

On the other hand, the Manufacturer and Merchant *provide a market* for the produce both of food and raw materials of the Land-worker; employ the poor; and, as their buſineſs advances and encreaſes, population encreaſes ſtill more extends and betters that market. This claſs ſtill further in its turn creates an accumulated ſurplus of ſtock, always ready to meet the ſale of land itſelf at market; and ſo raiſes not only the annual profit of the land, but the real vendable value of the property alſo.

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The Land-worker, therefore, in which denomination I include both the proprietor and farmer, ſhould, as in all united intereſts muſt be done, ſubmit reaſonably and chearfully (as I hope and truſt he doth) to ſome privations, as the Manufacturer, on his part, muſt reciprocally do, in order, by a juſt communion in alternate burthens and advantages, to create one common proſperity proportioned to each, according to their reſpective intereſts engaged, activity exerted, and improvements made. The Land-worker ought to take upon the land thoſe burthens which the land will beſt bear; he ought to be content with the home market, ſo long as that market calls for his ſupply; and ought there to give the pre-emption and all preference to the Home-manufacturer. He ought to be ready to give even bounties to him, if ſuch are ever neceſſary; for if bounties are given, it is the land that pays it: he ought chearfully to pay for thoſe armies and fleets, which clear, protect, and open the way to the market for the Manufacturer and Merchant, on the very ground that he has a right to expect that the Manufacturer and Merchant

do not obſtruct his way to his market, nor oppreſs him there.

If the Land-worker depreſſes the Manufacturer, ſo far as he does it, he deſtroys his own market; in the next place, the poor unemployed will fall back upon him; and if under this ſtate, he could accumulate any ſurplus, which the improvement of land will not abſorb, it muſt either lie dead, or be devoured in brutal waſte, as in the ancient days of half-civilized ſociety.

If, on the other hand, while the Land-worker ſubmits, on his part, to theſe privations and partial depreſſions, the Manufacturer, or Merchant-manufacturer, ſhould obſtruct his way to the market, or ſhould foreſtal it, by loading it with foreign products, *which pay no taxes*, and ſhould ſtill inſiſt upon a monopoly againſt the poor Land-worker, thus fettered and chained down, — if he ſhould thus inſiſt upon taking a portion of the Land-worker's profit, as of right given to him, and then purchaſe the reſt at his own price, the Land-worker will not raiſe that ſurplus which he is not able to ſell,

and

and muſt be content to ſubſtitute ſomething in the room of what he cannot afford to buy; he muſt be content to make a homeſpun and a home-wrought manufacture for home uſe; and thus finally the Manufacturer will obſtruct his own buſineſs, and deſtroy his own intereſt, at all times, in proportion to the extent to which his oppreſſion is felt. Don't let the Manufacturer laugh at this repreſentation as viſionary: the writer of this paper hath ſeen times and countries where this has been a caſe in fact, where the bulk of the Land-workers have ſo manufactured for themſelves; and although it were not the cheapeſt way of having manufactures, if they were to be purchaſed; yet, by employing the ſpare hands of their family, and filling up with labour *fragments of time*, which would otherwiſe have been loſt in waſte and idleneſs, the manufactures, although relatively dearer, came to their uſe abſolutely cheaper and better made, than if they had gone to market for them. This is not certainly the wiſeſt and beſt way in which manufactures, conſidering the community at large, can be conducted; but, if any part or claſs of that community *once comes to feel itſelf oppreſſed*, oppreſſion will drive even wiſdom to madneſs;

and if a neceſſitous incapacity of paying rates, rents, and increaſing taxes, follows upon the ſteps of this oppreſſion, this ſpirit will ariſe with a force that cannot be reſiſted, and will at length *make a virtue*, and a wiſdom too, *of neceſſity*. It will be prudent, therefore, to diſcern and to diſtinguiſh, that as the ſyſtem of depreſſion exerted in extremes, will, by obſtructing, depreſſing, and ſtopping the Land-worker's proceſs of improvement, fall back with a recoil of ruin on the manufacturer himſelf; ſo muſt it in proportion to that depreſſion, as it affects more or leſs the landed intereſt, have a decided tendency to undermine the proſperity of the Manufacturer himſelf; for however his foreign market may make a buſtle, that bearing but a very ſmall proportion indeed, to the home conſumption, he will feel his main buſineſs ſinking and diminiſhed. If this long miſtaken policy of giving unequal preference to the manufacturing claſs, by further and further privations and depreſſion of the Land-worker, already nearly broken down by increaſing rates, rents, and taxes, and by the increaſing ſcale of prices of every thing, except of his own produce, continues much longer, this ſtate of the

the Land-worker, which may to curſory reaſoners ſeem viſionary, will be found not removed at any great diſtance; a ſpirit of diſcernment may ſee a train of effects almoſt ready to come forward into event.

This ſtate of the hoſtile rivalry which operates between the Land-worker and Manufacturer in a ſpirit of idleneſs and pillaging envy, is an humiliating view of the principles of the country, and of the principles of commercial policy, and it hath been ſtill more aggravated by the miſguided ſpirit of Government in various periods giving unequal advantages to one claſs, laying unequal burthens on another. From the time when Sovereigns began to think they ſhould, and that of courſe they did underſtand the ways of commerce, that it was their intereſt to meddle with it, forgetting that the Land-worker is the baſis of the ſyſtem, the ſource of the proceſs of the community; and not ſeeing that the true policy was to unite into one conſpiring operation, the efforts of the Land-worker and the induſtry and ſkill of the Manufacturer, they have from that period, as uniformly as unwiſely, as decidedly as unjuſtly, beſtowed extraordinary

privileges and preferences on the manufacturing claſs: and in order to force the intereſt of this their favorite by a profit, not its own, have kept down, depreſſed the intereſt of the Land-worker, taking by monopolies, prohibitions, and depriving regulations, part of his profit from him, raiſed by his own proper induſtry, to give it to the favored claſs, by which it was not produced.

One may ſay from reaſoning, but experience authoriſes one to ſay, that this meaſure always tends in proportion to the degree in which it is exerted, to keep down and diminiſh the intereſt of the Land-worker, to relax and diminiſh the induſtry of the Manufacturer; to ſet his dealings on a falſe balance; and to nurture him up to the expectation of unequal and uncommercial profits.

The Land-worker, diſcouraged and feeling that the ſurplus profit of his labour is not his own, but taken from him to be given to another, will firſt or laſt learn to go no further in raiſing produce than he can make it his own and diſpoſe of it as his own: he will not trouble himſelf to raiſe that which he cannot ſell; he will not labour on that

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for which he is not to be paid. Nature will feel, and experience will ſuggeſt, that, as the proverb expreſſes it, *it is better to play for nothing, than to work for nothing.*

* The manufacturing claſs, fed and thriving by profits which ariſe not from their own induſtry, will naturally lean to external aid, not internal exertions; and finding firſt unequal, will acquire the habit of expecting exorbitant gains, while at the ſame time it relaxes of its induſtry, and falls into luxury.

From theſe ſelf-obſtructive meaſures ſo long purſued, both claſſes have received, each its peculiar hurt; the general induſtry of the community, and the abſolute produce of the whole hath been kept down and diminiſhed, and ſo far loſt to the community; while the wealth, although under a momentary and partial deception, replete in relative accumulation, muſt feel in the

* One effect of artificial forcing of trade is that it creates a temporary profit, a forced abundance in parts, not ariſing from parſimony and induſtry, its natural ſource; traders grow waſteful and ſlothful, until finally they loſe their trade.—De Witt's Maxims.

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end and upon the whole, an abſolute privation; to the ſinking both the revenue and power of the ſtate.

It is however in theſe enlightened days to be hoped, that the truly commercial ſtateſman, whether as Miniſter or Legiſlator, (for the writer of this addreſſes himſelf to both,) if he be truly wiſe on experience, inſtead of falſely learned in maxims, if he be firmly juſt on principle, will reſtrain this hoſtile rivalry, and by proper addreſs convert it into an active competition, wherein each claſs ſhall by its own proper induſtry work out its own proper profit; will ſo harmonize all burthens and advantages amongſt the different claſſes, that nothing but greater exertions of induſtry and ſuperior ſkill ſhall derive down upon the one or the other greater and ſuperior profits. He will raiſe for each an equal open market for the produce and the manufactures which their exertions ſhall bring thither, and give free circulation through the channels of reciprocal ſupply and conſumption. He will, as the Cenſors of old in the Roman ſtate are repreſented when they have done their duty, hold the balance even.

To

To do this, under the preſent ſtate of contending parties, will require the ſtateſman's greateſt ſkill, his trueſt wiſdom, his firmeſt temper of juſtice. He will have to make a reform againſt rooted prejudices, againſt the falſe policy eſtabliſhed, when theſe matters were not underſtood. He muſt withſtand the alternate clamors of intereſted individuals, and even the menacing demands of conſpiring bodies grown rich and powerful under the habitual enjoyment of unequal favors.

There never was a time when the diſcordant hoſtile rivalſhip of different claſſes at home, feeling ſome neceſſary privations, which the peculiar circumſtances of the country occaſion, were in ſuch agitation: they do, as is commonly the caſe between the neareſt relatives, alternately conſider thoſe who are neareſt to them and moſt naturally connected with them, as the cauſe of each other's misfortunes. Thoſe whom he will have to reconcile and unite as in one ſyſtem, will preſs upon and clamor to him againſt each other: thoſe who have been oppreſſed will call for relief and protection: thoſe

who have been accuſtomed to receive favors will demand the continuance and augmentation of them: thoſe who have been too long foſtered with partial preferences, will demand them as of right, and will of all others be the moſt importunate; they will come forward in combinations, ready, if they cannot ſeduce, to menace Government. The ſubject itſelf diſguiſed and miſunderſtood, miſrepreſented and miſapplied as it has been, will require a diſcernment that may penetrate to the very ſpirit of the buſineſs, as quite a new thing: theſe diſtracting claims, theſe confounding clamors muſt be reſiſted by an inflexible firmneſs of equity, ſuch as,

Non civium ardor prava jubentium mente quatit ſolidâ.

If the commercial ſtateſman (miniſter or legiſlator) wiſhes to do what is abſolutely right in juſtice between the individual claſſes, what is beſt for the proſperity of the community, what is moſt advantageous to the intereſt of the ſtate, he muſt mark the commencement of his new ſyſtem of adminiſtration or legiſlature, with *a new ſyſtem of commercial policy*. The ſpirit and the principle of governments, as commercial

ſtateſmen,

ſtateſmen, have operated in that wiſe and cunning maxim of *ſharing the calf in the cow's belly.* Their ſyſtem hath been founded in axioms learnt by the ear, engrafted on authority, and rooted in habit; or on general maxims, which were the haſty concluſions of odds and ends of partial views, or the ſuggeſtions of intereſted ſeducers. Theſe, unconteſted and uncontrouled, have for a long time been the conſtant ruling principles of commercial policy; while thoſe, whoſe intereſts were to be governed by them, feeling them wrong, yet neither able to remedy or rectify them, have as conſtantly, to guard off their miſchief, been in a conſtant courſe of evading them, by what is called contraband: ſo that law and commerce were by this ſyſtem at conſtant variance; nor did the ſyſtem depart wider from the facts on which it ſuppoſed itſelf to be grounded, than it did from common ſenſe. It is ſcarce poſſible to deſcribe it, in terms which are not ridiculous. When ſovereigns began to interfere with commerce, they would *teach their gran'am to ſuck eggs:* they took ſome of their precedents from the wiſdom of the prudent houſewife, *who killed her hen, to make ſure of the*

whole layer of golden eggs; and from the experienced gardener, who meant to *create to himſelf a monopoly of the fruit, by cutting down the tree:* they attempted to make circulation run up againſt its natural current, by ſtopping its courſe; and to make riches ſtand above the level, by a dam, whoſe property was to make them recoil below that level. They imagined they could create plenty, by cutting off the ſupply; and that they could make their neighbourhood rich, by *robbing Peter to pay Paul.* A few inſtances will explain this, and lead at the ſame time to the more particular object of this paper.

There could not be a notion more remote from truth, that had leſs foundation in fact, or that was more directly ſelf-obſtructive, than the ancient maxims which formed regulations about money; either thoſe which lowered its value, while they kept up its denomination, or thoſe which attempted, to retain by law, money within a country, howſoever dear the nation paid for it, or how much ſoever it loſt by with-holding it from its beſt uſes. It was for ages eſtabliſhed as a wiſe meaſure of policy, that money ſhould

be

be brought back in exchange for goods, although perhaps it was the deareſt article our trade could receive in exchange, and to prohibit it from exportation, although it was perhaps that very article, which would, with the greateſt abſolute profit, pay for our purchaſes.

The value of money is always in the compound ratio of its ſecurity as a depoſit, and of its uſes. By lowering its intrinſic value, and by prohibiting its exportation at its current value, it ceaſed to be a depoſit in foreign exchange, and this meaſure at the ſame time deſtroyed its uſes. Thoſe ſovereign commercial ſtateſmen, therefore, lowered the value of it at home, and forced their merchants to pay their balances in other articles, which coſt more at home, and were of leſs value abroad; by which they continually encreaſed theſe balances wherever they were againſt them, and continually obſtructed them in the payment. This was the wiſe way of making a State rich by commerce, and was received as an uncontrovertible maxim of commercial policy for ages. From this maxim, a ſeries of general meaſures were derived, which

all

all operated to depreſs domeſtic induſtry, to depreciate its produce, and ſo to obſtruct circulation, as to make work employed only to overcome the friction of the machine of commerce, which ſhould have been employed with profit to work its real powers.

There were times, and for ages continued, wherein a man, who ſhould have dared to recommend to the Stateſman the conſidering of money as an article of commercial barter and exchange, would have been looked down upon either as an inexperienced ſuperficial ignorant, or as a wild viſionnaire. Some Governments have, however, at length entirely, and ſome almoſt, freed themſelves from this fooliſh miſchievous meaſure, although I fear the principle ſtill lurks in their ideas. The operation of it is to be traced in many other inſtances; although experience hath enforced wiſdom in this one, relative to the prohibitions of exporting money, and ſuch like obſtructive follies. One would ſcarce think it poſſible, that ſuch a principle, in ſuch an enlightened age as the preſent, and in a commercial country too, could ſtill exiſt, were it not found

found operating with all its power even in our own country.

Another ſimilarly wiſe maxim of commercial policy drawn from a like refinement in abſurdity, was the prohibiting of corn and grain from becoming an article of commerce; for this reaſon, becauſe it was the food of the people; the very reaſon why all markets ſhould have been opened to it, and a free circulation given to it, ſo as to encourage a never ceaſing ſurplus. Yet the road to the market, and the market for corn and grain, was embarraſſed and clogged with a multitude of obſtructions and diſcouragements, which muſt of courſe raiſe the price and diminiſh the certainty of the ſupply; and finally to cut off all poſſible inducements from the farmer's hopes for raiſing a ſurplus, the ſending that ſurplus, when the home-market was ſupplied, to foreign markets, was prohibited. It was become a maxim, that the Manufacturer and city Shop-keeper were to be encouraged by keeping down the price of proviſions, and of the rude materials of manufactures; and the wiſe commercial politicians could find no better way of doing this, than by taking,

taking, under the name of law, but in reality by violence, part of the profits of the Land-worker from him, and giving it to the favored claſs, whoſe balance of profit became a falſe one, not raiſed by their own induſtry and ſkill, but made up with that of others. The direct operation of this folly was, that the productive powers of the land were not wrought to what they were capable of; the ſupply ſuffered a conſtant defalcation, and at times riſqued a dangerous privation; inſtead of having the pre-emption of an abundance, which circulated as *a living magazine* of food when wanted, but convertible into riches, when it was a ſurplus more than was wanted.

Whenever the feeling, rather than any reaſoning, hath emancipated Government from this curious policy, ſo as to remove this ſelf-obſtruction, corn and grain have continually increaſed in quantity; the market hath been uniformly and abundantly ſupplied; the price hath regularly diminiſhed in proportion to the quantity; the nation experienced the benefit of a circulating ſurplus, which exported, brought in a return

turn of a great balance in poſitive wealth. Here again the practice hath been changed by law, but the principle ſtill lurks in ſeveral miſchievous notions, which check the benefit that would derive from an univerſal freedom.

Nothing but the reference to the caprice of unfounded principle, which differs from itſelf at ſome times, as it doth from truth at all times, could account for the not prohibiting the exportation of *tin*. The very reaſon in truth and fact why its exportation ought not to be prohibited, ought, according to the fooliſh maxims above noticed, and which the reader will have ſtill ſtronger reaſons to notice, ought to have operated for its prohibition, namely, that it is, and becauſe it is, a peculiar ſtaple commodity of this country—perhaps the profits ariſing to the Duke of Cornwall upon its exportation may have paid its way, and ſaved it from the ſelf-obſtructive oppreſſive tyranny which hath arreſted other articles.

Although tin may, braſs cannot be exported. We muſt not expect any reaſon for this in the

uniformity of the wiſdom of the commercial ſtateſman, but that in one caſe the Duke of Cornwall's intereſt, and the boroughs of the tin country, were more powerful than the pewterers; and in the other caſe the braziers and Birmingham Manufacturers had better intereſt than the braſs-founders. Let this paper now ſuppoſe for a moment, that tin had been prohibited from exportation upon the reaſoning of the pewterers, who might have alledged that it is a raw or rough material, which they could work up, and that therefore they ought to have the monopoly of it againſt all foreigners. Now under this ſtate of the caſe, we will ſuppoſe the ſame fact to have come into event, that has actually come into event, that the uſe of pewter hath been in a great meaſure ſuperceded by the almoſt univerſal uſe of ſtone and earthen ware: Would the commercial ſtateſman ſtill ſuffer the pewterer to retain, as under a ſacred maxim of policy, his monopoly of the tin?—Would he ſuffer it to lie waſte and dead upon the producers hands, a dead loſs to the nation at large, and a privation of revenue to the ſtate? I will neither anſwer, nor reaſon upon the queſtion—I will leave it on the conſideration of the mind of thoſe whoſe duty

and

and whoſe intereſt it is to conſider propoſitions of this import.

This wretched policy fixed, about the time of the Reſtoration of the family of the Stewarts, its miſchievous ſpeculations on another of our ſtaple commodities, on our wool; and converted what to that time had been temporary regulations, wiſely made, and judiciouſly executed in the moment which called for them, into a permanent ſyſtem, which by its exceſs of iniquity hath wrought a wholeſome alterative into a deſtructive poiſon.

About 400 years ago, there being no trading Woollen Manufacturers in England, our wool, a ſtaple commodity, went abroad in its unwrought ſtate: but from a concurrence of various events, King Edward III. ſaw an opportunity, and ſeized the moment, of transferring the woollen manufacture from Flanders, into England, and of eſtabliſhing it there. To give therefore a ſudden check, at this moment, to the foreign Manufacturer, who depended entirely upon our wool; to give to our own Manufacturer a pre-emption of the raw material, and a pre-vent of the manufacture; to

give a kind of forcing aid to the growth of the Engliſh manufacture at its firſt taking root; he wiſely prohibited our wool from going to the foreign market for a time, that is, * *till it were otherwiſe ordained*; but this prohibition was not abſolute, nor did it extend to that ſurplus which the home market could ſpare, for in the 12th and 13th year of his reign, (i. e. 1338 and 39,) he granted diſpenſations of this in conſideration of money paid: And although in the 14th year of his reign, he ordained, that no man was to export wool *before Michaelmas*, the reaſon was not, that wool ſhould not go abroad to the foreign market, but becauſe *the King* himſelf would, in that interval, *export* 20,000 *packs:* And, again, although in the 27th year of his reign, (i. e. 1353,) ſubjects were prohibited exporting wool, yet merchant ſtrangers might.

In the 4th year of the reign of Henry VII. who, from what he learnt of commerce in Flanders, during his exile, underſtood the policy of it better than any other Monarch, it was or-

* 11th of Edward III.

dained,

dained, during the ſpace of ten years, that no one, except actual Manufacturers, ſhould buy any Berkſhire wool before * the Aſſumption of our Lady, nor any merchant for exportation, before the Purification.

By theſe meaſures, a proper pre-emption was ſecured to the Manufacturer, and a proper preference given to the native Wool-buyer; but this very regulation wiſely as juſtly allowed the ſale and exportation of the ſurplus at a given period, when the pre-emption muſt have had its full operation, and when the home-market was ſupplied, namely, after the Aſſumption, and after the Purification. Theſe wiſe regulations ſecured to our Home Merchant-manufacturer advantages which gave him the means of being firſt at the foreign market, and of maintaining an aſcendant there; encouraged the Land-worker to raiſe an abundant ſurplus of wool, which the Home-manufacturer commanded, while he wanted it, and which, when not wanted at home, was, by being ſent abroad, converted into abſolute wealth to the nation, and revenue to the ſtate.

* 15th of Auguſt.

Again,

Again, if at any time a particular ſort of wool was wanted in the home market, fit for any particular ſpecies of manufacture, that ſort was kept in the home market; as in the 6th of Henry VIII. when it was ordained, that no Norfolk wool, fit for worſted and ſtammins, be exported. There was at that time no injuſtice in this, nor any injury done to the grazier; becauſe the home market at that time took all that was grown, as appears by the price. This meaſure was not founded on that fooliſh miſchievous maxim, that no Engliſh wool was to go to the foreign market, but other wools, not wanted for worſteds and ſtammins, not being included in this prohibition, might be exported as an article of commerce: for in 1522, in the 22d of Henry VIII. c. i. no wool was to be bought for exportation, before the Purification of our Bleſſed Lady.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, our woollen manufacture continued in a progreſſion of proſperity; and yet no law in her reign prohibited the exportation of wool. "True it is," (ſaith W. Smith, 1646,) "that after the wools "multiplied beyond what the manufacture at "home

" home took off, then, with licence of the State, " they were permitted to be tranſported."

During the operation of this ſpirit of commercial policy, our manufactures increaſed and proſpered; the Land-worker found an aſſured market of an increaſing demand, and the poor were employed; the wages of the Labourer and Manufacturer were rated according to the price of victuals; and the value of wool was three times the price it is now. It was *a mark* per tod of 28lb. when, in the ſcale of prices, wheat was eight-pence the buſhel, a gooſe four-pence, and a hen one penny halfpenny.

At the Reſtoration of the family of the Stewarts, theſe meaſures, which had been hitherto by temporary regulations, that had done much good and no hurt, as they were executed, were converted into a permanent ſyſtem of depreſſion of the Land-worker; giving at the ſame time to the Merchant-manufacturer the command of the grazier's property, a ſhare of his profit, a monopoly againſt him in ſuch market as was allowed, and taking from him all market and ſale of the

the ſurplus, which the home market did not call for, and would not purchaſe. It became a ſyſtem, that all wool, at all times, however abundant the quantity, or however depreſſed the price, whether it lay unſaleable at the home market, or whether it was rotting in the grazier's wool-chamber, was to be abſolutely prohibited from being exported.

By a tranſcript of the ſeveral temporary regulations ordained and diſpenſed with, enacted for a time, or, if general, repealed at times, prior to this deſtructive epoch; and comparing by a like tranſcript, the laws eſtabliſhing and ſtrengthening this ſyſtem of oppreſſion ſince that time; by comparing the natural ſcale of prices of all other articles with the artificial depreſſed prices of wool, notwithſtanding the advancing ones of the woollen manufactures; this unnatural ſyſtem of injuſtice, of falſe and ſelf-obſtructive policy, may be detailed in a ſeries of facts, which have been felt by the Land-worker in his depreſſion; and although not felt or underſtood by the Stateſman, operated to a diminution of that proſperity and wealth of the nation, which would otherwiſe

otherwiſe have been much greater; and muſt finally, if carried and extended further in the ſame ſpirit, operate to an actual privation, that muſt verge to miſchief. This ſyſtem hath been examined and explained, in a manner to which nothing can be added, by the Rev. Mr. Smith of Lincoln, in his Memoirs of Wool, by a gentleman, the moſt laborious collector, the moſt diſpaſſionate reaſoner, with a comprehenſive knowledge of commercial policy, and with an honeſt zeal, wiſhing to emancipate the community, and the oppreſſed claſs, from the ſhackles of tyranny under which its commerce hath ſo long been oppreſſed. It would be well if the commercial Stateſman, be he Miniſter or a Member of the Legiſlature, could have time, before he attempts to legiſlate for this buſineſs, to read and conſider well the whole of this work: if that cannot be, to read at leaſt thoſe chapters at the end, which form a recapitulation of the whole *. It will be ſufficient to the purport of

* The writer of this Paper does not mean to recommend the ſcheme which Mr. Smith propoſes. It was the beſt which he thought the then times would bear.

this paper, to quote the teſtimony and opinion of a fair authority; of one who is no partizan in the caſe, but who gives his opinion as the reſult of an exact and ſcientific inveſtigation into the nature and cauſes of the wealth of nations. I mean the opinion of Dr. Adam Smith.

" In England, notwithſtanding the flouriſh-
" ing ſtate of the woollen manufacture, the price
" of Engliſh wool has fallen very conſiderably
" ſince the time of Edward the Third. There
" are many authentic records, which demon-
" ſtrate, that during the reign of that Prince,
" towards the middle of the fourteenth century,
" what was reckoned a moderate and reaſonable
" price of the *tod*, or 28lb. of Engliſh wool,
" was not leſs than ten ſhillings of the money of
" thoſe times, containing at the rate of twenty
" pence the ounce, ſix ounces of ſilver, *Tower*
" *weight*, equal to about thirty ſhillings of our
" preſent money. In the preſent times*, one-

* Such might the average equitable price of our beſt wool be ſtated, at the time he wrote; but it hath ſince ſunk, with a moſt rapid decreaſe, to nine and ſix-pence, nine, and even eight ſhillings the tod.

" and-

" and-twenty ſhillings the tod may be reckoned " a good price for very good Engliſh wool. The " *money price*, therefore, in the time of Edward " the Third, was, to its money price in the pre- " ſent times, *as ten to ſeven*. The ſuperiority of " the *real price* is ſtill greater; at the rate of " ſix ſhillings and eight-pence the quarter of " wheat, ten ſhillings was in thoſe ancient times " the price of twelve buſhels of wheat. At the " rate of twenty-eight ſhillings the quarter, one- " and-twenty ſhillings is, in the preſent times, " the price of ſix buſhels only. The proportion, " therefore, between the *real prices* of ancient " times, and of modern, is as twelve to ſix, or " *two to one*. In thoſe ancient times, a tod of " wool would buy twice the quantity of ſubſiſt- " ence which it will purchaſe at preſent; and " conſequently twice the quantity of labour, if " the real recompence of labour had been the " ſame in both periods." But at the rate of the preſent depreſſed price, it would purchaſe three times the quantity.

" This degradation (he goes on) both in " the real and nominal value of wool, could ne-

" ver have happened in conſequence of the na-
" tural courſe of things: it has been *the effect*
" *of violence and artifice.*"

There is not, in the ſyſtem of life, a propoſition more deciſively true, more clearly demonſtrable, both from reaſon and experience, than that manufactures and commerce, when operating by their natural principles, create employment for the labouring people; and giving circulation to labour and profit, create wealth to the community. So long as they enjoy, and permit to the other claſſes of the community, equal and reciprocal liberty, they not only employ the poor, but create a market for the Land-worker's produce of food, as well as of materials of the fabrique. So long as they operate by theſe principles, they give ſource to population, and thus again conſtantly extend the demand at the Land-worker's market: nay, the effects of theſe beneficial operations go ſtill further; they create a market for the land itſelf, and can ſend money to meet it, if it comes to ſuch market. Every reaſon, therefore, which reſpects the individuals of a country; every regulation which

hath

hath regard to the reſpective claſſes of the community; every policy which can have true and juſt reference to the community, and to the wealth and power of the State, ought to influence the commercial Stateſman to give every encouragement to manufactures and commerce; ſo long and ſo far as this can be done conſiſtently with equal juſtice and reciprocal liberty to the other claſſes of the community; ſo long and ſo far as they operate to the producing the happy effects which are the ground of this reaſoning; ſo long and ſo far as they truly maintain the labourer, ſo as that he can ſubſiſt himſelf and family, according to the price of victuals and lodging, and keep himſelf off the pariſh: ſo long and ſo far as they create, and really and truly give an open and free market to the raiſer of their food and materials: ſo long as they grow rich by fair induſtry and conſtantly improving ſkill, creating wealth to the nation, and power to the ſtate.

Theſe are the true grounds whereon manufactures and commerce have a right to claim the encouragement and ſupport of every other

claſs

claſs of the community; have a right to call for the aid of Government: it is by reaſons derived from theſe principles, that they may properly and juſtly apply to Adminiſtration or the Legiſlature for aſſiſtance; for particular favours, for pre-emption of the raw materials, and for all other preferences at the market.

When they are in the poſſeſſion of all this, in which I wiſh to ſee them remain, let us ſee how they, in their turn, reaſon about the Land-worker and labourer; in the ſubject of Wool, which is the more immediate object of this paper. I am afraid we ſhall find, that thoſe advantages, which were ſo promiſing in theory, thoſe of employing and ſubſiſting the poor, thoſe of creating an increaſing and advancing market for the produce of the Land-worker, are forgotten, neglected, and vaniſh in practice; whilſt maxims and practices, the very reverſe in operation and effect, are ſubſtituted in their room. Theſe maxims, henceforward avowed, are, that the produce of the Land-worker, both food and raw materials, ſhall come to market, under ſuch reſtrictions, as the Manufacturer and reſidents of the great towns

towns ſhall adviſe and perſuade Government to make: that when at market, it cannot be permitted to be bought and ſold, as the nature of a multifarious diſtribution may demand it, but as theſe claſſes ſhall deſtine it; firſt, that they may have the pre-emption, and next, that they thereby depreſs the price; and in fact, that they may have the monopoly of the whole. Finally, that in the article of Wool, the Grower ought not to be permitted to ſell, at any foreign market, that ſurplus of his produce, which the home market will not take off. And in order to keep down depreſſed the price of what he is permitted, thus fettered and monopolized, to ſell, the Manufacturer hath managed to get regulations eſtabliſhed, by which wool*, from other countries, from lands not taxed, ſhall be brought into competition in the Engliſh market againſt the Engliſh wool, locked up by a monopoly, and lying under a load of taxes: to commodities, under ſuch different circumſtances, what would be a good, nay, a thriving price to the one, would be to the other a ruinous depredation: and yet, to this oppreſſive rival is the Engliſh wool ſub

* From Ireland.

jugated

jugated—That ſyſtem, formed for the Engliſh wool-market, which firſt delivers the commodity there to an abſolute monopoly, which doth not take off the whole which is at market, but which always leaves, as *a dead load* on the Grower's hands, a *ſurplus unbought*, either becauſe the manufactures do not want it, or becauſe the Wool-buyer keeps an advanced ſtock in hand. After the monopoly hath taken off what quantity it chuſes at its own price, it will not take off the reſt *at any price*; and yet this ſurplus, more than the home market wants, is not now, ſince 1660, permitted to go to the foreign market. One would think, that all this was ſufficient to anſwer the moſt avaricious wiſhes of the favoured claſs, in lowering the price: but it is not ſo; nor indeed is the thirſt of avarice, any more than that of a dropſy, ever ſatisfied. There is a ſuperadded act of tyranny, eſtabliſhed by law, that wool and yarn from Ireland, from lands not paying, in proportion to ours, any taxes, may be brought into the Engliſh market, as rival to our wool and yarn, at all times, whether the market be already overſtocked or not, and whatever be the depreſſion of the

prices

prices of our wool, and whether the Engliſh commodity which is there, can, at any price, be ſold or not. This is a ſyſtem of tyranny and oppreſſion, which cannot be paralleled by any example to be produced in any other country in the world, not in the moſt deſpotic!

While the mother country, England, *claimed and exerciſed* a monopoly of the produce of its ſubject and ſubordinate provinces, and particularly that of tobacco, ſo long as that was obliged to come to the Engliſh market, under this monopoly; a ſpirit of juſtice in the Nation, and ſpirit of wiſdom in the Government, provided, that the tobacco ſhould not be foreſtalled or rivalled there; that, as it was confined to that market only, it ſhould have a free and open market there. To prevent any other tobacco, even our own growth, coming to rival it there, an act * of Parliament prohibited the planting of tobacco

* This law ſtill remains in force: I would ſome years ago have moved its repeal, but was defired by ſome perſons, who had ſome vague notions of negociating with America, not to move it, as it might be a ſomething in hand to nego-

 ciate

tobacco in England, not only by heavy penalties, but giving a power to the Sheriff of each county to root it up, and take it as forfeited.

On this principle, one might have hoped; but alas! our commercial policy hath been actuated by caprice, or ſuffered under the ſeductions of partial avarice; one might otherwiſe have hoped, that when the Engliſh wool was confined to the home market only, and came there under a monopoly, that that market at leaſt would not be ſuffered to be foreſtalled by foreign wool or yarn brought there at prices infinitely below the ſcale which the rents, rates, and taxes will permit ours to be ſold at. On the contrary, the plan of introducing, is avowedly to lower both the price of the Engliſh material, and the wages of the labouring manufacturer the ſpinner.

Beſides the depredations which an injurious worker, I wiſh to ſuggeſt to the commercial Stateſ-

ciate with. Why the poor farmer, to whom a little tobacco is always uſeful, ſhould ſtill remain under this uſeleſs wanton prohibition, I cannot conceive.

worker,

rivalſhip, ſo conſtituted, makes upon the Landman, ſome account of the loſs which the nation at large ſuffers by this ſyſtem, as unwiſe as it is unjuſt; and this in an inſtance of one port only. The quantity of woolien yarn, taken on an average of ſeveral years, imported into Yarmouth, Norfolk, is annually ſix thouſand packs, each pack is 240lb. that is 1,440,000lb. in all. This is ſpun of a wool fitted for ſtuffs and worſteds, the very ſort of wool grown in the marſhes of that county, and in quantity approaching to what that county could itſelf ſupply, but by which it is ſo far ſuperſeded in its ſale. Here, beſides the loſs by depreſſion of price, is the firſt article of actual loſs of the ſale of ſo much produce, at 6d. per lb. is 36,000l. in a county which could have ſupplied it. Again, taking an average of the different prices of ſpinning different ſorts of yarn, and ſtating the twelve-penny yarn; this yarn, thus brought from Ireland, is a loſs of labour to the country of 72,000l. per annum; at 3d. per lb. combing, is a loſs of 18,000l. more; ſo that here, by this importation of yarn from Ireland into Yarmouth only, the country ſuffers a loſs of labour to the amount of 90,000l. an-

nually. Is this meaſure calculated to prevent the exportation of wool, or to keep down oppreſſed its price below the ſcale of all other things?

Is this a meaſure to employ and maintain the poor?

Is this creating a market for the Land-worker's produce?

On the contrary, whatever may have been the principles aſſumed, and reaſon given in theory, why manufactures and commerce ſhould be foſtered by the landed intereſt, and why Government ſhould give them an aiding protection, namely, the benefits which they derive down upon the labourer and Land-worker; yet, when theſe claſſes come to ſtate their ſpecial and ſpecifick intereſt, then the reaſoning runs, that the lower in price the produce of the land can be kept down, the lower the wages of the labourer can be reduced, ſo much the more advantageouſly for the public will our manufacture be exported, and go to the foreign market. That the Maſter-manufacturer and Merchant may more advantageouſly export them, is undoubtedly true: but how is the

the public benefited by theſe advantages, concentering in the conglomerated riches of a few individuals, while the labouring * Manufacturer can ſcarce earn bread, above the point of ſtarving; while they and their families are daily falling upon the pariſhes; while the poor rates increaſe, and are from three to four times higher in the manufacturing countries than elſewhere; while the grazier is robbed of near two thirds of the fair equal profits of his produce; and while the landlord finds that not only the value, but the rents of his land, muſt ſink, while the prices of every thing which he muſt buy are riſing. Does this ſtate of manufactures and commerce ſubſiſt the individual; diffuſe wealth to the com-

* The writer here refers to facts of notoriety in the Weſt, where *hunger hath broken through ſtone walls*; that is, through all bounds, and where it hath been found neceſſary to hang poor wretches, whom they ſhould have ſo employed, as that they might ſubſiſt. He refers here to facts of another ſort in Suffolk and Norfolk, where the poor had rather ſeek their bread by picking ſtones in the fields, than by ſpinning for the manufactures. If the alternative of ſtarving or hanging is that, to which the labouring manufacturers think themſelves reduced, ſurely manufactures have deviated from one main end, in contemplation of which Government hath always given them a preferable ſuppport, viz. that of employing and *maintaining* the labouring claſs.

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munity at large; and render the State powerful in the body of the people?

If the manufactures, and the export of them, do, or are diſpoſed in practice, to derive the benefits above deſcribed in theory, upon the labourer, farmer, and land-owner, then as they thrive, the labourer and labouring manufacturer ought to be able to live ſo much better in proportion; the poor ought to be ſubſiſted by employment, inſtead of poor-rates; the grazier and farmer ought to find a *better market* for his produce; and the landlord find his rents riſe and well paid at the ſame time. What comfort is it to theſe general claſſes of the people to be told of the flouriſhing ſtate of manufactures; of the proſperity of commerce; while they feel themſelves in a ſtate of private depreſſion. Inſtead of relief or comfort, it becomes an aggravated inſult on their oppreſſion; for, in proportion as they are depreſſed in the wages of their labour, and in the prices of the produce of their land; the prices of every thing which they muſt live by, are riſing upon them, in conſequence of *riches being monopolized*, inſtead of being diffuſed in general circulation.

The

The true commercial policy, if it be policy to interfere at all, which I doubt, is, by the mildneſs, the juſtice, and the liberty of the commercial Stateſman's ſyſtem, ſo to arrange matters, that the general profits of the whole manufacturing and commercial operations ſhould, while every individual employed in them, and every claſs connected with them, feels and enjoys their due proportion of the benefits, be diffuſed in an equal uniform circulation of wealth throughout the whole community, and ought in part to be drawn off by natural ſecretions into revenue, which ſhould form the power of the State.

One more retroſpect of this ſcene of deſolation, the Land-worker's market, and I have done.—We have ſeen, that his produce comes to ſale under numberleſs reſtrictions; when at ſale, is delivered over tied and bound to a monopoly; which is the caſe of that part of his produce which he can ſell. But there is, occaſioned by various changes in the faſhions of the country, a conſiderable ſurplus, which accumulates upon his hands, and which he cannot ſell at the home market at any price; and which, yet neither uſeful,

uſeful, fitted* for, nor wanted by the Engliſh manufactures, he is not permitted to ſend to the foreign market.

The almoſt univerſal faſhion in England of now wearing linen, has ſuperſeded the uſe of woollen. The women, the loweſt as well as the higheſt, who not many years ago wore woollens, in the greateſt parts of their dreſs, are uniformly and univerſally clad with linen, cotton, or ſilks, in every article of their dreſs. The men wear in general linen, cotton, and ſilk waiſtcoats, breeches, and ſtockings. The wear of Oſnaburgs in frocks and breeches, is almoſt general amongſt the labouring claſs of people; and if they have a holiday waiſtcoat, it is of linen or cotton, or ſilk and cotton; and even ſhalloon and other ſtuff linings to coats, are out of faſhion. Poplins, crapes, and bombazeens, which uſed to be conſidered as an eſſential part of a mourning dreſs, are now in great meaſure diſuſed. And I have heard, that the regimental ſtockings of the ſoldiers, which were formerly woollen, are now

* The Wool-buyer's agent, Friend Huſlar.

linen

linen or cotton, as cheaper and better. In conſequence of this decreaſe of the home-conſumption of woollens, which is the great market, the Engliſh Manufacturers cannot, on any ſuppoſition of the foreign market, (for the mode of wearing linens, cottons, ſilk and cottons, has taken the ſame turn there alſo,) work up all the wool which was grown as a ſupply to a branch which is gone. This is the cauſe of that accumulating ſurplus which the wool-growers find lying dead at the end of every ſale upon their hands.

What will the commercial ſtateſman, miniſter, or legiſlature, do, or not do with this? Will he leave it at liberty to go to market, where it will ſell, or will he ſtill confine it under the old oppreſſion of the monopoly, although the monopoliſts neither want nor * can take it off. If he doth this, and will not permit the producer to carry it to market, nor to turn it into money, the producer muſt pay his rent in kind, muſt pay his

* If they will venture to aſſert that they can, I will venture to aſſert *how they* may diſpoſe of it.

taxes in wool. If either the Government or the landlord diſtrains, they will ſtill be puzzled.

I will here ſuggeſt a matter which, although it may appear ridiculous at the firſt ſight, will yet be found to contain more ſerious matter than meets the eye.

Suppoſe Government to receive for the land-tax, the ſurplus wool, which after Lady-day lies on hand unſold, at the current price of the laſt markets; and was then, as Government did in the times of the Edwards and Henrys, to become the exporter of it: the farmer would be relieved, and Government would receive three ſhillings, where it now receives one, by the difference of the current home-price at which it was received, and the current price in the foreign market at which it would be ſold. This would more than make good all deficiencies in the land-tax: Government would receive three times the revenue, and yet the land be ſo far from burthened that it would be relieved. In theſe times of diſtreſs when it becomes ſo difficult to find ſources of revenue, one might think that the bare naming of this, would recommend it to

ſome

ſome conſideration. All this is not to be argued, nor do *I* recommend it, unleſs I can firſt eſtabliſh the truth and the wiſdom of letting the ſurplus wool go to the foreign market, after the home market has had the pre-emption and is fully ſupplied.

It will not be required to produce reaſons, why a commercial nation ſhould export every article it can ſpare, which will ſend home in return a profit. There needed no arguments to convince Sancho Pancha, who had a good ſtomach, why he ſhould eat when a good dinner was ſet before him; the ingenuity exerted, was to find out reaſons why he ſhould not eat this or that article, at length, no one article, which would have proved to have been reaſons of *ſtarvation*, had he not had at hand the magazine of his own wallet.

The arguments of commercial reaſoners are in many caſes, and relative to many particulars, perfectly juſt, as founded in truth and fact, why this or that article under this or that predicament ſhould not be exported.

Corn and grain, for inſtance, although a moſt beneficial article of commerce, ought not to be exported, when the price thereof marks that it is wanted at home: when it is no longer wanted at home, the wiſdom of our preſent corn laws permit the *ſurplus* to go abroad even with a bounty.

Wool, in like manner, although an article which would produce very great commercial profit, ſhould not be permitted to go abroad, ſo long as it is either wanted, or can be wrought up, at home: nor then neither, until the home-manufactures have, by this ſurplus wool being kept back for a certain time, got the means of being firſt at the foreign market: nor ought it even then to go abroad *without a duty*, which muſt give a decided preference to the home-manufacturer above the foreign one.

As the real point of this ſubject lies in the reaſons, why it ſhould not be exported, this paper proceeds to examine theſe reaſons.

A reaſon given in former times, confidently and

and repeatedly inſiſted upon, is now no longer urged, ſince the extended information of the nation knows it to be a palpable falſehood, that the foreign woollen fabriques could not be carried on ſo as to come into commerce, if they were deprived of our wool: yet ſtill the monopoliſts wiſh to have it believed, that the French would rival us in the woollen manufacture, if they were permitted to have the Engliſh wool; that their ſucceſs would entirely depend on this circumſtance. The fact is, that they have rivalled us, and beat us out of the market, in thoſe articles in which they do not uſe any Engliſh wool; and their ſucceſs derives from quite a different cauſe.

But to ſet the truth or falſehood of this aſſertion, to ſet the actual fact on its right baſis, this Paper will proceed to ſtate, and from authentic documents, what ſpecies of wool the French Manufacturers *do uſe* in their fabriques, and more eſpecially in thoſe ſorts in which they have rivalled us.

" The woollen manufactures of France em-

" ploy

" ploy in part the native wool of the country, in " part foreign wool imported into it.

" Spain alone furniſhes an export of wool, " to the amount of more than ſixty-thouſand " bales; the half of which is imported into " France. Theſe wools, according to their dif- " ferent qualities, are ſuitable to different ſorts of " fabriques. Each bale made up for exporta- " tion (which is different from the ſmall bales " in which the wool is brought down from the " country to the port) weighs from 250 lb. to " 300 lb. (the mark pound.)

" *Spain is the only country* from whence the " wools for the fine cloths are exported. The " beſt ſort comes from the kingdom of Caſtile " and of Arragon; the wools of Navarre are " coarſer than many of thoſe of France. The " paſtures of Saragoſſa in Arragon, thoſe of Se- " govia, and of the province of Leon, furniſh " the wools which are in the higheſt eſteem; theſe " again have their different values, as even theſe " parts vary.

" There

" There is another ſort of wool which they call " Sorie and Albarazia, which is a very ordinary " ſort, and employed only in the fabriques of " the lower ſtandard.

" Sweden and Denmark furniſh extraordinary " good wools; yet they are not comparable to " thoſe of Spain and Portugal. The wools of " Portugal are nearly of the ſame quality and " fineneſs of thoſe of Spain. There is imported " by way of * Marſeille, the wools of Con- " ſtantinople, Smyrna, and Alexandria.

" There is good wool in England, principally " that of Canterbury; but as there is a prohibi- " tion againſt its exportation, *little of it comes to*

* There are great quantities of coarſe wools exported from the Black Sea, and various parts of the Turkiſh dominions, and from Africa. There are alſo ſome very fine from the Levant. Some very fine (equal to Portugal) from Tunis. Some ſo fine from ſouthern parts of Italy, that when I was amongſt the Manufacturers of the South of France, they were going to try an experiment, if they could not ſubſtitute this in parts in the ſtead of Spaniſh wool. The wools of Tunis and Portugal are chiefly uſed in making the knitted red caps, called *maroquins*, and in hoſiery.

" *France.*

" *France.* There are two diſtinct ſorts; one " that is ſoft and ſhort, which is carding wool " for cloth: the French do not aim to obtain " this ſort. The other is extremely long and " ſtrong, and of a thriving growth, but rather " harſh and elaſtick. This, the combing wool, " is ſuited for the warp of different ſtuffs, ſerges, " tammies, camblets, calamancoes, &c. ſuch as " are made at Rheims, Amiens, Lille. Our " fabriques * know little of the wools of Hol- " land and Flanders. Theſe provinces do not " produce ſufficient for their own manufactures; " beſides, thoſe of Holland being prohibited " from exportation, come even dearer than thoſe " of England, at the ſame time that they are " inferior to them. We will not enlarge further " on the nature of the Engliſh wool; 'tis not " material; for, on account of the difficulty of " obtaining it, † our Manufacturers *employ none*, " *or*

* Notwithſtanding what is here ſaid, great quantities are ſent from the banks of the Scheld, particularly from near Locheren, to French Flanders.

† Here is a fact in direct contradiction to the aſſerted facts, that great quantities of our wool are uſed in the French

" *or ſcarce any* in our woollen fabriques. As " we have many fabriques which *uſe intirely* " *the wool of our own growth*, it will be next " proper to deſcribe theſe.

" The beſt are the wools of Berry, on the ſide " of Iſſoudun, which is named of the plain of " Vatan. Theſe are ten or eleven per cent. higher " value than the wools of Bourges. The wools " of Auxois in Burgundy, and thoſe in the " environs of Abbeville, are tolerably good.

" There are many ſorts of wools in Langue- " doc; that of Bezieres is the moſt eſteemed: " it comes the neareſt to that of Portugal, and " is finer than that of Iſſoudun. The wool " of the dioceſe of Lodêve, which is named " *Ruffe*, that named *Longue Rouviere*, and that " of Montagne of the dioceſe of Agde, are very " ordinary, eſpecially the longue-rouviere. The " wool of Corbiere and Narbonne, which they

French manufactures. And here is a proof in point, that the preſent laws of England, prohibiting the exportation of wool, are ſufficient, as far as laws can be, to their intended purpoſe.

" call *Clap*, are of the ſame quality as that of " Bezieres, named *Quarante*. The wools of the " plain of Salangue in * Rouſillon are in great " eſteem.

" The wools of Sologn are not ſo fine as that " of Berry: the beſt are thoſe beyond Orleans, " on the ſide of Vanne, Ides, Viglain, Vilmur- " lain and its environs. The fleece of theſe " weigh but from one to two pounds. The beſt " of theſe wools are beyond the foreſt of Or- " leans, on the ſide of Ville-neuve-aux-loges: " thoſe on the ſide of Eſtampes are rather in- " ferior, The fleece here weighs from two to " four pound, but this is not nett.

" The wool of Champaign is ſoft and pithy, " and generally very dirty, eſpecially about the " neck.

* I ſhall here add what I picked up upon the ſpot, that the wool of Rouſillon is of three inches ſtaple, and is, as all other wools are, divided into three degrees of aſſortment. The fineſt ſells from 50 to 60 ſous the lb. The ſecond ſort from 45 to 50. And the third ſort about 24 ſous the lb.

" The

" The wools of La Hogue, the moſt northern " part of Normandy, are as fine as thoſe of " Berry; the Manufacturers of Cherbourg and " Valogne buy them by the fleece.

" The wools of Cotantin are not ſo fine as thoſe " we have juſt mentioned: thoſe of Baſſin are ſtill " more ordinary.

" The wools of Andennes are of the moſt " ordinary ſort; thoſe beyond Bouillon ſtill " worſe. Theſe different ſorts are worked up at " Doncheri, Poix, and other ſmall manufactories, " which are not known but in their own neigh- " bourhood."

Thus far the French memorial. I ſhall add ſome more particulars, not only as to the nature of wools employed in the manufactures of France, but to the price of it as collected by myſelf on the ſpot, in the ſouth, eaſtern, and northern parts of France, and as given to me by a perfectly well informed friend, reſpecting the weſtern parts.

The very ſuperfine French cloths are made at

Louvieres and Abbeville, and are entirely of Spaniſh wool, except the ſelvages.

The cloths made in Languedoc for the Turkiſh, and in time of peace the Chineſe trade, which they call *Londrines*, are of Spaniſh wool. The beſt cloths which they make at Rheims are of Spaniſh wool.

There are many ſorts of coarſe wool brought from the Black Sea, from Conſtantinople, from Aſia, from Syria to Marſeilles, chiefly uſed in making mattraſſes, which employ great quantities of wool.

The laine pellade, or that which is ſhorn from the ſkin after the ſheep is killed, coſt from 40 to 50 livres the quintal of 100 lb. The clipped wool, in all its dirt and greaſe, as it comes off the ſheep's back, from 50 to 60 livres per ql. waſhed 24 ſous per lb. The wool of the Black Sea, like hair, from 35 to 40 livres per ql. African wool from Barbary, about 40 livres per ql. All theſe are carded for mattraſſes, and in the operation loſe at leaſt two thirds of the weight at which they

they are bought. When thus dreſſed and carded for uſe, they ſell from 50 to 55 to 60 livres per ql.

The Spaniſh wool, which they import in groſs at Marſeilles, coſts 100 petits ecus per quintal. The Tunis wool the ſame: the richeſt and beſt part of this is uſed in making the knitted caps called maroquins, for the Turkiſh market; the reſt is employed in hoſiery.

The wool of Portugal, uſed in the ſame fabriques, is, waſhed, 60 ſous per lb.

There is ſome very fine wool brought from Italy, almoſt equal to the Spaniſh. Some of the great Manufacturers had a ſpeculation of introducing this into their fabriques of Languedoc.

I have mentioned above the wool of Rouſillon. The wool of Narbonne is nearly as fine as that of Rouſillon, but more cottony, and of a ſhorter ſtaple. The price to the firſt buyer is the ſame at that of Rouſillon, with this difference, the latter pays a duty, on entrance into Languedoc,

doc, of 4 or 5 livres the ql. On the former there is no duty.

Notice has been taken of the wool of Bezieres above; this is bought in the fleece, which as it comes off the ſheep's back, with all its dirt and greaſe, will weigh from 5 to 8 to 10 lb. the fleece, but when waſhed and dreſſed, 100 lb. of the lighteſt will not produce above 30 lb. of wool, and 100 lb. of the more ordinary ſort, not more than 26 lb. this is bought at 3 livres, 3ls. 15s. to 4ls. 17 ſous the fleece.

The wools of Peſenas in Languedoc, on the ſide of Montagnac, are bought in the fleece, at nearly the ſame price; they are ſomewhat leſs fine, but produce in the dreſſing more wool.

The wool of the ſea-coaſt is heavy and coarſe, and ſerves only for the common drapery.

The wools of the mountains of Montpelier, and de Somieres, are of three ſorts; 1ſt, equal to the wool of Peſenas; 2d, leſs fine; 3d, com-

mon

mon ſtuff. Firſt, waſhed, is from 33 to 34 ſous per lb.

The pound of wool compleatly dreſſed and ſpun, coſts in Languedoc about 3ls. 5 ſous per lb. the ſmall lb. of 12 oz.

The ordinary cloths of Rheims are made of the wool of the country; the ſecond beſt, of the wool of Berry; the ſuperfine, of Spaniſh wool. The wool of Berry coſts (I ſuppoſe dreſſed, &c.) 3 livres, to 3ls. 5s. the lb. The wool of Segovia, coſts them 5ls. 6 s. per lb. of 18 oz. half waſhed.

They make in Languedoc three ſorts of cloths; the ſuperfine for the Turkiſh market; a ſecond ſort, which is for the home-wear of people of condition; and a coarſe cloth at Lodêve, for the clothing of the ſoldiers.

A good ſpinner will earn about ten or twelve pence a-day.

A weaver at Rheims is paid 5 ſous an ell, can

can weave 7 or 8 ells a-day (there, cloths are half-ell wide); ſo that he can gain from 35 to 40 ſous, or 20 pence Engliſh, a-day.

Wheaten bread, the fineſt white, is 3 ſous the lb. of 16 oz.: ſuch bread as the Manufacturers eat, 2 ſous per lb.

Butcher's meat, about 7 ſous per lb. and garden ſtuff extremely cheap.

The fabriques of Rheims, beſides the ſort called *Draps de Rheims*, are imitations of a Sileſian drapery, and called *Sileſies*, imitations of our Wilton, and called *Wiltons*, in a thouſand varied forms of ſpotted and ſtriped. They make alſo caſimirs, which they name *Marocs*; alſo drugget and flannels, and blankets of all ſizes, from 20 livres to 40 the piece; they have alſo a conſiderable fabrique of hoſiery.

They have alſo fabriques of a ſecond ſort of cloth at Elbeuf and Sedan.

" The cloths of Julienne, and the ſuperfine

" fabriques

" fabriques of Sedan, as well in ſcarlet as in other " bright colours, and in black, are fit only for " the rich. There are alſo fine mixed cloths " of Van-Robais and Andelis. The Louviers " ſuit the middling people, who are at their " eaſe in their circumſtances; the Elbeuſe are " beſt ſuited for the workmen and mecha- " nics; Chateaurouge furniſhes livery cloth; " at Romarantin, Iſſoudun, Lodève, they make " cloths for the military clothing. There are " ſtill inferior coarſer cloths, made for the wear " of the payſans and country-labourers."

From this detail of the fabriques, and of the wools uſed in theſe fabriques, *the fact comes out*, that they are eſtabliſhed, ſupported, and carried on in ſeveral branches, even to rival the Engliſh at market, without the uſe, or any mixture of the Engliſh wool.

There can be no doubt that the Engliſh wool, the combing wool, is ſmuggled over to France: I ſhall perhaps in the courſe of this Paper be able to mark ſome of the ſmugglers; it is chiefly, if not ſolely, uſed in the fabriques at Abbeville,

and ſome ſmall quantity at Rheims, and perhaps at Lille, in the ſtuff and worſted goods made there, the druggets, camblet, and calamancoes, and tammies, as alſo in the warp of their other light cloths. But are theſe the branches of manufactures in which the French rival us? And inconſiderable as theſe fabriques are, in compariſon of the ſupply of a great kingdom, inconſiderable as the quantity of Engliſh combing wool uſed in theſe is in proportion to the Britiſh conſumption, I cannot but wonder that the monopoliſts have ventured to make ſuch a rout about it; nothing but their perfect aſſurance, that the implicit ſimplicity of the country gentlemen will ſubmit and not know how to contradict them, could encourage them in this. Let, however, this ſmuggling have been hitherto what it may, the late commercial treaty will put a more effectual ſtop to it, than all the penal laws which can be deviſed: for, under this treaty, the French merchant will be able to import from England all theſe kinds of fabriques in greater variety, and on more advantageous conditions, than he can purchaſe them of the French Manufacturers; will be ſo able *to compleat his aſſortments* for trade, in a way,

way, and at a price which muſt neceſſarily check, if not totally annihilate, theſe fabriques made of or mixt with Engliſh wool.

From this ſtate of the fact of the French woollen manufactures, whoſe rivalſhip we were ſo taught to dread, the ruinous danger of the ſmuggling Engliſh wool to France, is all reduced to the ſupplying one town in only a part of its manufactures, and in a part too which could never hold up its head againſt us, and muſt be ruined as ſoon as it comes into open competition with us.

Will the monopoliſts ſay, *ſome* of them perhaps *can tell*, to what country the Engliſh wool, if it were permitted, could go, ſo as to become dangerous to the manufactures of England?

When I was at thoſe places to which the Engliſh wool, of which they make no ſecret, comes, I learnt that none comes in the fleece; they receive it divided into ſorts which ſuit their purpoſe. If they had the whole fleece, great part of it would be a burthen on their pur-

chaſe; but thoſe parts of the fleece, as I learnt, which the French market does not want, and would be a burthen and diſadvantage to it, is ſeparated before it is ſmuggled over; and that only which the Manufacturer wants, goes to him in that way which is calculated the beſt to enable him to rival our home-fabriques.

I ſuppoſe no one will ſuſpect, nor will the monopoliſts venture to aſſert, that the Wool-grower divides or ſtaples it; we muſt find out ſome other agent. However it is wrong, that any wool whatſoever ſhould, at any time whatſoever, go to the foreign market, this certainly is the moſt miſchievous way in which it can go.

I have ſaid above, that a monopoly, however it may be advantageous to the ſelfiſh intereſts of avaricious individuals, is hurtful to the principles and ſpirit of that induſtry whereon theſe operations ought to be founded: it ſets them off on a falſe balance of profits greater than their own proper exertions raiſe; it nurſes them up in the habit of receiving an unequal ſhare of the general profits; accuſtomed to the aſcendant in the

the market at home, where monopoly operates, the ſpirit of their dealing expects exorbitant gains in the foreign market alſo. The effect of this is, that with all the advantages under which they go to market, they have not been able to keep up the competition with the French merchant in the Turkey trade, but have loſt that entirely. An Engliſh merchant is capable of acquiring the aſcendancy in any competition with foreign merchants, by the long credit he can give, by the low profits he can afford to deal for; becauſe it is not the rate of this or that profit, but the accumulated extent of many which creates his returns. This is the caſe in all branches of buſineſs where commerce goes on in its natural courſe; but where any branch has been foſtered up by a monopoly, the dealers in that branch learn and actuate a quite different ſpirit; a ſpirit, which, while it relaxes and remits the induſtry with which manufactures ſhould be carried on, excites the expectation of advanced profit. This is not the ſpirit which will make its way, when brought into fair, equal competition.

There

There is another diſadvantage which the monopoly of the grazier's wool, given to the manufacture, hath neceſſarily derived down upon the Manufacturer, and inhabitants of the great towns.

The grazier uſed in general to pay his rent by his wool: when he bought in his lean ſtock for grazing, he looked to the wool as the firſt article of his return; that being now ſo ſunk in price, his ſheep will not pay for the grazing, will not return the ſtock which he laid out in the purchaſe, and leave the grazier a living profit, unleſs he is paid out of the carcaſe. This hath of neceſſity raiſed the price of mutton almoſt double within a few years, and of courſe, the price of all other victual coming from the grazier. That this would be the caſe, was told to the Manufacturers in a letter written to them, by the writer of this, in 1775. All the manufacturing countries and the great towns feel this miſchief, and without looking to this monopoly againſt the Wool-grower, the true cauſe of this evil, without removing the cauſe, they have been forming fine ſpeculations to remove the effect. Let them

plan

plan what meaſures they will, they may reſt aſſured, and had better ſit down content, that the price of proviſions muſt keep up this price. They may indeed by injudicious regulations enhance the prices and obſtruct the market, but they can never lower them, until the monopoly eſtabliſhed againſt the wool is diſſolved.

Having ſtated the oppreſſion which the grazier ſuffers under this iniquitous ſyſtem of monopoly; having ſtated the inconveniences and diſadvantages which it cauſes to fall back upon manufactures in general; having ſhown how it contradicts and counteracts every principle, and every reaſon on which manufactures ſhould receive preferences and advantages from Government; having ſhown how this is a permanent cauſe of reciprocal privation to both claſſes, to the Land-worker and the Manufacturer, and of abſolute privation to the whole community; not being able to find any one reaſon, neither by my own inveſtigation, nor in what I have heard, or am able to learn on reading, why, after the home-market hath had the pre-emption, and is ſupplied, the ſurplus of

our

our wool, remaining on hand, ſhould not be exported to the foreign market: I will proceed to ſuggeſt a meaſure, which is founded in the principles of commercial policy; is conſonant to all our laws and police, prior to 1660, reſpecting wool; is ſimilar in every proviſion, operation, and effects, to all our laws enacted to regulate the exportation of corn and grain; is what no fair and honeſt Maſter-manufacturer can object to; is what, having been ſuggeſted and explained to ſome of the firſt Maſter-manufacturers and Merchants in the woollen trade, appeared juſt and reaſonable to them.

I have repeatedly ſaid, that the Home-manufacturer ought to have the pre-emption, and every advantage and preference at the home-market, conſiſtent with equal juſtice to the Land-worker, which can give him the aſcendancy over the foreign competitor.

On theſe grounds, I ſay, that no wool, be the price (high or low) what it may, ought to be exported, until the home-purchaſer hath had the pre-emption, and is fully ſupplied; on theſe grounds,

grounds, I ſay, that no wool ought to be exported, except that *which is left as a ſurplus*, and is at a price which marks that there is no market for it at home. Full time after the clipping ought to be given for this operation, and no wool ought to be exported before Lady-day next after clipping. This is the ſpirit of the police and the proviſion made in our laws prior to 1660.

On the ſame ground, I ſay, no wool ought to be exported, even at that period, if the price in the fleece was more than per pound:

But that, after having given near ſix months pre-emption to the home purchaſer, and after the home demand hath been fully ſupplied, if there remained at Lady-day a *ſurplus* on hand, whoſe price in the fleece was below per pound, and the home-market would not take it off at that price, on notice given that the exportation would take place, that then, *this ſurplus* of wool ſhould be permitted to be exported on paying a duty of per hundred weight.

This meaſure ſo regulated, ſecures every preference and advantage to the home Manufacturer, which even a favorite (as a favorite) could deſire, unleſs he is decided, having unjuſtly enjoyed it ſo long, to be ſatisfied with nothing but the iniquitous and deſtructive monopoly. This gives him every preference, and a temporary monopoly in the pre-emption; this gives him the aſcendant balance againſt the foreign Manufacturer and Trader, and enables him to be firſt at, and to foreſtall the foreign market. I will here addreſs myſelf to the general body of the Manufacturers and Woollen-merchants in the title of this paper, *Live and Let Live*. I do not addreſs myſelf to that part of them who are the conductors of the monopoly; they, like the dog in the manger, will not let others live upon what they cannot apply to their own living. The Manufacturers in general, and the Merchant-manufacturers, wiſh to live and thrive and get all the profits they can in their buſineſs, but they do not wiſh to ſee others ſtarve; to theſe, therefore, I ſay with confidence, *Live and Let Live*.

On theſe grounds, I will venture to recommend

mend to the commercial ſtateſman that ſimple truth on which his meaſures as a ſyſtem can alone be eſtabliſhed, *Keep the balance even* amongſt the ſeveral claſſes.

I could wiſh to adviſe the country gentlemen, if I could flatter myſelf that I had any of that weight with them which I once had in theſe matters, and could ſuppoſe that they would have ſpirit and ſyſtem enough to act up to the advice, I could wiſh to adviſe them to come to decided opinion, That until it is permitted to export under a duty ſuch wool as, after Lady-day next enſuing clipping, ſhall lie on hand as a ſurplus, which the home-market will not take off, their common rights are infringed, and they do not enjoy equal liberty and reciprocal juſtice with the Woollen-manufacturers and merchants; and hereupon to come to a fixt reſolution, to be ſyſtematically and unvariably purſued, to obtain juſtice and to recover their rights. But, alas, they have a certain feel, as one ſees in all their reſolutions, that will not ſuffer them to raiſe their exertion or even their hopes beyond that of defending themſelves againſt any further depredations or oppreſſions.

If the monopoliſts will but leave the yoke as it is, they make a merit of ſubmitting to it, and put themſelves on the ground of compaſſion, hoping that the monopoliſts will think that the preſent galling oppreſſions are full ſufficient, and, almoſt in the words of a compromiſe, ſaying, they will bear them without complaining, if the monopoliſts will not add a heavier and a ſtill more galling load on them.

To any claſs of people who reaſon and act upon this plan, no real friend can give any advice that will not appear viſionary and too enterprizing, that will not alarm their fear of being drawn into ſome danger. The conſequence of this manner of acting hath been, that the conductors of the monopoly, ſeizing every and omitting no occaſion, have conſtantly repeated their attacks, and will conſtantly repeat them, to preſs more and more upon the country gentlemen retiring; and will on every occaſion gain ſomething, either in the conteſt, or by compromiſe: for the ſpirit of not acting beyond the defenſive, always invites freſh attacks.

At one time, the Wool-growers do not wind to pleaſe them, although I know no law that obliges them to wind their fleeces at all, if it was not their cuſtom ſo to do: at another, they did not mark their ſheep ſo as to ſatisfy theſe monopoliſts; and on a late occaſion the nature of the wool and its ſtaple, to which the graziers bred their ſheep, did not ſuit them; at leaſt they made this a pretence to lay the ground for having the direction of the grazier's breeding and feeding ſtock, and to put the wool under a kind of aſſize.

The * monopoliſts, conſidering the iſſue of the laſt conteſt with the landed intereſt as having made a breach, are now drawn out in full force to enter ſword in hand. I wiſh, I had almoſt ſaid I hope, that the country gentlemen may not only be able to defend themſelves, but may have ſpirit to ſally out upon the enemy, ſo as to

* I uſe this expreſſion as I do, to diſtinguiſh this hoſtile body from the Manufacturers and Woollen-merchants in general, who have more equitable ſentiments, and act upon more liberal principles.

recover

recover ſome of the many out-works of their rights which they have given up.

I had communicated to me laſt year, the plan of the attack, draughted in a parliamentary bill, which it is ſaid is to be brought forward into effect this ſeſſion. It is a plan, which, drawing together and combining every unjuſt and injurious miſchief that hath been inflicted on the Land-worker, gives a new point and poiſon to the dart, and fills up the meaſure of iniquity.

Upon the vague and unfounded ſuggeſtion, which neither ſtates facts on proof, nor aſcertains the crime, nor brings the commiſſion of it home to any convicted criminal, upon bare ſuggeſtion of the crime and of the criminal, who yet from the nature of the crime, as far as it is deſcribed in the preamble of the bill, cannot poſſibly be the criminal, it preſents to the Legiſlature A BILL OF PAINS AND PENALTIES, *ſequeſtering* the woollen property of all the Wool-growers reſiding within miles of the ſea-coaſt, converting his offices, or even his houſe, if his wool is there lodged, into a ſort of King's warehouſe, liable

liable to be entered and inſpected at all times; and without pay or reward, but, on the contrary, under burthenſome, enſnaring, and cruel penalties, making the poor grazier warehouſe-keeper to what ſhould be his own property, preſcribing an inceſſant variety of office-duties to be exactly obſerved by him, under the riſque of ſuffering the pains of felony. If the crime could be proved and affixed to the ſpecific criminal, or criminals, the law preſcribes already a method of proſecution, and annexes very ſevere puniſhment to the conviction; but, inſtead of proceeding to diſcover or proſecute any *actual criminal*, the monopoliſts, in the draught of their bill, upon *bare ſuggeſtion* that * all the Wool-growers in the land reſiding within miles of the ſea-coaſts *may poſſibly become criminals*, ſequeſter all their wool, and preſent *a Bill of Pains and Penalties* as againſt convicted criminals. I will not do ſo much diſhonour to one of the moſt reſpectable claſſes of the community, as to undertake a pro-

* The Scotch will have here to attend how this muſt more ſtrongly affect and how much further penetrate into a country having an indented coaſt, ſuch as their part of the iſle conſiſts of.

viſional

viſional defence againſt a ſuggeſted poſſible crime; I hope they will conſider the ſuggeſtion as beneath their reſentment. I cannot but ſuppoſe, however, that Parliament will feel ſenſibly the indecency of the addreſs made to it, on ſuch groundleſs ſuggeſtions and falſe pretences, and which dares to pray ſuch unconſtitutional proviſions to be enacted, contrary not only to the common rights of the ſubject and his property, but contrary to the law of Parliament.

Although the framers of this bill have not, as was their duty to have done, aſcertained the ſpecific crime, and brought it home to the actual criminal, againſt whom this bill of pains and penalties ſhould be enacted; I will, with their leave, from their own deſcription of the various ways and forms by and under which wool is fraudulently exported, and more eſpecially as it confirms an information which I received in 1775, and which I at that time communicated to a large body of Manufacturers in the North, I will, with the leave, and by the aſſiſtance of theſe draughtſmen, try if I cannot bring the matter a little nearer to the point of fact.

Theſe

Theſe framers of the bill ſtate, as one of their ſuggeſted facts, that *wool in very different forms* from that in which it comes from the grower's hands, in forms of "coverlits, waddings, or "other manufactures, *or pretended manufactures*, "made of wool ſlightly wrought up, or other-"wiſe put together, ſo as that the ſame may be "reduced to, and made uſe of again as wool," is fraudulently exported. This agrees with the information I received in 1775, and with what I learnt in France, namely, that wool is not chiefly imported into that country from England in the fleece; but divided into the ſorts which they want: Now *theſe waddings, theſe pretended manufactures*, ſo ſkilfully put together, which is the * chief and principal form under which the great ſmuggling ſupply of wool to France is conducted, neither are nor can be exported by

* The writer will not here deny, that the ſmugglers of ſpirits and brandies may, and do, pick up here and there a few pockets of wool in the fleece, as back carriage. But this ſupply muſt be deſultory and irregular, ſnatched at lucky intervals, and the moſt inconvenient and expenſive way in which the French can have it: the other is the regular, the convenient, the leaſt expenſive.

the Wool-growers. It muſt be wrought and thus put together by Manufacturers more than ordinarily ſkilled in the ſlubbing and working it to that particular point. The Wool-growers cannot employ theſe: Who are the employers? And who afterwards export it, and how is it exported? Theſe are queſtions which the draughtſmen of the bill will find inconvenient to anſwer. I ſhall, however, for I have an equal right with them to uſe ſuggeſtion, if I had no better grounds, endeavour, in the courſe of this paper, to point out where to look for the anſwer.

The preamble of the bill, which ſtates *the grievance to be remedied*, as far as it goes to aſcertain it to any preciſe form and fact, ſtates that wool is fraudulently exported in the forms of *coverlits, waddings, and pretended manufactures ſlightly put together:* this fixes the act of the crime on the Manufacturers and their employers, totally clears and exculpates the Wool-grower *from all poſſibility* of being concerned in this crime, or in the commiſſion of it. To make the proviſions of the bill conformable to the remedy required, regulations ought to have been brought

brought forward to prevent theſe Manufacturers, and their employers, from exporting theſe *pretended manufactures*. And yet this bill, paſſing by all regulations reſpecting the conduct of theſe Manufacturers and their employers, to whom the crime deſcribed by the draughtſmen of the bill is brought home; and yet this bill, paſſing by the real remedy, is brought forward A BILL OF PAINS AND PENALTIES againſt the Wool-grower *as a ſuppoſed poſſible criminal*, ſequeſtering his property of wool, &c. &c. &c.

The draughtſmen of the bill would wiſh Parliament, led aſide by decoy pretences, to think that *theſe coverlits, waddings, and pretended manufactures*, go abroad in caſks, caſes, firkins, &c. &c. hoping it may adopt regulations to intercept them, where they will not be found; and to paſs by and neglect proviſions againſt their being ſmuggled under packages, wherein, though they may not be ſuſpected, they will be found—IN BALES.

This matter will be brought to its true teſt, if any member will move in the committee to

inſert after the words caſks, caſes, &c. [*and bales*] and in the latter part of the bill will move to inſert a clauſe containing regulations of inſpection when any bales of woollen goods are made up, and ſome check and examination as to their exportation. If a clauſe to this purport and effect is not made part of the bill, and the bill ſhould paſs into an act without it, the Woolgrower will find himſelf and property delivered over at diſcretion, and at the mercy of the monopoliſt, which is all that the bill aims at; it aims not at the prevention of ſmuggling wool; that will go on as uſual, ſmuggled *in bales* under the forms of *coverlits, waddings, and pretended manufactures, ſlightly made up and put together.* The moving ſuch amendment in the preamble, and ſuch clauſe in the body of the bill, will bring the matter to its true teſt. If the draughtſmen and preſenters of the bill revolt at it, if they grow warm about it, and get into a paſſion, it will indicate where the monopoliſts are ſore: it will mark who they are that are ſore on this point: I could almoſt gueſs who they are that will be the moſt ſore and moſt angry.

If

If it were not for this fact, which goes to the quick, they could not, after having thrown out ſuch outrageous ſuggeſtions againſt a whole claſs of the moſt reſpectable individuals, winch at the ſuggeſtion that they, and not the Wool-growers, are the ſmugglers.

After having framed ſuch an intricate enſnaring ſyſtem of regulations, with ſuch pains and penalties annexed, againſt the Wool-growers, they will not, in common decency, ſhrink at the propoſition of regulations founded in fact, and become, now the fact is underſtood, ſo much more neceſſary as to the attention to, and inſpection of the making up woollen bales. This is a meaſure of commercial police ſo deciſive and clear, and of ſuch equal juſtice, while the Wool-grower is to be put under ſuch pains and penalties, that I will not miſpend the reader's time in arguing it.

I will not here enter into any diſcuſſion of the many ſtrong proviſions of the bill; theſe muſt undergo in the committee, and indeed in every ſucceſſive ſtage of it, very critical and cloſe conteſt. It is impoſſible that country gentlemen ſhould

ſhould not be fully inſtructed on theſe points. One drift of theſe affected proviſions, apparently framed againſt the exporting wools to foreign parts, are ſolely calculated to obſtruct, and as much as in them lies, to prevent the tranſportation of wools from one part of England, where the manufactures are ſinking under even a monopoly, to other parts of England, where the manufactures, carried on a larger ſcale and more liberal plan, are in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate, and can and do work up the wool of theſe parts who want to keep it by violence of law. This is perfectly underſtood in the North.

It is worth obſervation, and I think cannot eſcape thoſe who have the executive conduct of the finances, that the draughtſmen of this bill have, by the various duties, viſitations, inſpections, attendance to proceedings before magiſtrates, to multitude of certificates, permits, returns of ſales, and tranſportation, with all the particulars both of the buyer and ſeller, and every tranſaction of the ſale, and of the transfer of the property ſold: of the carriage or tranſportation of it; with all the permits, cockets, bonds, returns

turns of cockets and bonds: in theſe the draughtſmen of the bill have, by requiring the officers of his Majeſty's Cuſtom and Exciſe to keep annual accounts of all the wool grown, ſold, and tranſported: they have, I ſay, laid out work enough for them, if they had no one thing elſe in the world to do. How theſe officers, who have already now more to do than they can do ſo well as they wiſh, are to undertake this buſineſs for the monopoliſts, no man acquainted with buſineſs can conceive, Unleſs, upon the application of theſe monopoliſts, Government will create a new eſtabliſhment of offices, a new and numerous appointment of officers appointed to this ſole buſineſs, the regulations of this bill can never be carried into effect.

There is one curious clauſe, making the hundred or diſtrict, through which wool exported is carried, liable to fine and penalty; totally miſunderſtanding and miſapplying the principle of frank-pledge.

I did mean here to have proceeded to examine how far this ſelfiſh churliſh principle of prohibiting

prohibiting the ſurplus of our wool from going to the foreign market might operate in our commercial tranſactions on ſome future occaſion; or be affected by operations which foreign ſtates might in return adopt; how far it may tend to interrupt that general free intercourſe which, becauſe we have always hitherto enjoyed, we ſtill expect to enjoy from others, whatever courſe we ourſelves take.

We expect to receive without prohibition the hemp and naval ſtores and iron of Ruſſia and Sweden: we expect to have an unreſtrained importation from Portugal of their cottons, gums, &c. &c. alſo from France, of their cottons and raw ſilk: we ſhould be ſhocked at the remoteſt idea of a prohibition on the part of Spain *of its wools:* and yet we withhold from other countries even that ſurplus of our wool, which the home-market will not take off.

I am moſt decidedly convinced that France is not in that want of our wool for the carrying on their manufactures which the monopoliſts give out; nor that our withholding it has been any

any great deprivation to them: on the contrary, I think it has been an occaſion of advantage to them, in putting them upon the giving more attention to their own, and ſtudying ways of working it up. If it was of that eſſential uſe to them that our monopoliſts ſtate, there are many ways by which they might oblige us to let them have it.

Of 60,000 bales of wool which Spain exports annually, France alone takes 30,000: England imports from Spain annually about 10,000 of theſe bales *. Now if France could not carry on her manufactures without Engliſh wool, as we certainly cannot carry on the fabrique of our ſuperfine cloths without Spaniſh wool; ſhe has it certainly in her power, in many ways, to oblige us to let her have it. Would it be impracticable to France, through the intereſt ſhe has with Spain, through the fraternal connection there is between them, by means of the family compact, by the preſent ſtate

* I have, upon an average of ſome *late years*, ſtated the quantity of Spaniſh wool imported into England at 10,000 packs, at a round ſum: this exceeds my own private information by 2000 packs at leaſt. I ſhould rather wiſh to reſt this matter on my own information, and ſtate the quantity 8000 packs, or bags, per ann. at the rate of about £.200,000.

of their commercial interconnections, to get Spain to ordain a like prohibition of her wool being exported to England, as England maintains againſt all other countries, upon condition that France, in addition to the 30,000 bales ſhe now takes, would engage to take the 10,000 bales which England otherwiſe would take? France might then tell our Manufacturers, that, if they cannot carry on their ſuperfine fabriques without Spaniſh wool, You may have it, but you muſt have it of us, and we will be paid for it in Engliſh wool, value for value. Luckily, however, for us, this matter of the French ſo much wanting our wool, on which the monopoliſts have always laid ſo much ſtreſs, is not true. The French do and can carry on their woollen manufactures without Engliſh wool.

Notwithſtanding all this, ſome addreſs and management towards foreign nations, under our preſent humbled ſituation, will be neceſſary in continuing this ſyſtem of prohibition. I could carry theſe conſiderations much further, but I gueſs that the reader will ſee from the nature of them, I may as well finiſh here.

FINIS.

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